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RECORD OF POLITICAL EVENTS.

[From November 6, 1893, to May 10, 1894.]

I. THE UNITED STATES.

I. NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

FOREIGN RELATIONS. — The revelation, development and failure of the administration's Hawaiian policy has excited most attention in this field. Mr. Blount presented to the secretary of state, under date of July 17, a voluminous report on the revolution in Hawaii, covering in great detail the political and social condition of the islands. The particular events of January, 1893, through which the monarchy was overthrown, he represented as the result of a well-managed conspiracy, in which a small number of aliens and citizens of foreign extraction, chiefly Americans, took advantage of the queen's ill-advised and unsuccessful attempt at changing the constitution, to effect a revolution, with the purpose of bringing about the annexation of the islands to the United States. This plan was devised under assurances secured from the United States minister Mr. Stevens, that he would recognize any government they might form and would land troops "for the purpose of protecting life and property." The recognition was given and the troops were landed, the report held, before the provisional government had in any way demonstrated its ability to maintain itself against the queen's forces, and the presence and location of the American troops operated to prevent the royalists from attacking the revolutionists. The queen's submission was due to representations that an armed contest would have to be against the United States. Mr. Blount's report embodied by implication a severe arraignment of Mr. Stevens's conduct throughout the affair. On the basis of the evidence contained in this report, Secretary Gresham made his own report to the president under date of October 18. He reached the conclusion that the provisional government owed its establishment and its continued existence to the Hawaiians' belief that an effort to overthrow it would bring them in conflict with the arms of the United States; and further, that the majority of the voting population of the islands earnestly desired the restoration and independence of the royal government. The secretary therefore recommended that the treaty of annexation should not be resubmitted to the Senate, and suggested that the abuse of the authority of the United States could only be undone by the restoration of the legitimate government in Hawaii. Under the same date with this report, Secretary Gresham sent special instructions to Mr. Willis, who had succeeded Mr. Blount as minister to Hawaii, directing him to inform the

queen that the treaty of annexation would be dropped, and to express to her the president's regret that "the reprehensible conduct of the American minister and the unauthorized presence on land of a military force of the United States obliged her to surrender her sovereignty for the time being and rely on the justice of this government to undo the flagrant wrong." The minister was instructed then to secure from the queen a pledge that, when reinstated, she would grant full amnesty to all who participated in the revolution and would assume all obligations created by the provisional government. Having obtained this promise, he was to notify the provisional government that they were expected to relinquish to the queen her constitutional authority. Mr. Willis presented his credentials to the provisional government November 7, and was duly received. On the 13th he opened communications with the queen, but was met with a stout refusal on her part to make the pledge of amnesty demanded as conditional to her restoration. She insisted that she had no power to prevent the operation of the law, which directed that "such persons should be beheaded and their property confiscated." This attitude having been reported to Washington, President Cleveland, on December 18, sent to Congress, with the documents, a message reviewing the whole matter, maintaining the moral necessity of the attempt to undo the wrong which he held was committed by Minister Stevens, asserting as equally binding a moral necessity for requiring that amnesty should accompany the queen's restoration, and admitting that the queen's refusal to accept the conditions imposed, together with "unfortunate public misrepresentations of the situation and exaggerated statements of the sentiments of our people," had injured the prospects of successful executive mediation. He therefore commended the matter to the attention of Congress, and promised coöperation in any plan "which is consistent with American honor, integrity and morality." In the meantime, Minister Willis, continuing negotiations with the queen, succeeded in securing the required pledges on the very day on which the president sent his message to Congress. On the following day the minister made the formal announcement to the provisional government that it was expected to turn over its power to the queen, and asked categorically whether it was willing to abide by the decision of the president. On the 23d the provisional government, through its minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Dole, made its reply. Accepting with regret President Cleveland's decision against annexation, the provisional government declined to believe that the project of political union was rendered hopeless for all time. As to the demand that it relinquish its power to the ex-queen, the government declined absolutely to recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii. The only basis for the claim to such a right seemed to be found in the terms of the queen's submission in January, 1893, which were construed as referring the question of the sovereignty in Hawaii to the President of the United States. But such construction had never been in any way sanctioned by the provisional government, while the

United States had been committed to a recognition of that government by all the ordinary incidents of international procedure : by the formal recognition by Mr. Stevens ; by negotiating a treaty with its commissioners ; by receiving its minister ; and by accrediting to it two different ministers. However valid the queen's protest might be as against the acts of the revolutionists, in influencing the judgment and policy of the people of Hawaii ; or as against the acts of Minister Stevens, in giving a basis for action by the United States in its own exclusive sphere ; it could give no foundation for an interference by either power in the concerns of the other. After complaining and protesting at length in reference to the course of Mr. Blount while in Hawaii, and of the Cleveland administration's policy in general, the reply concluded with the statement : " The provisional government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition . . . that it should surrender its authority to the ex-queen." On receipt of this reply Secretary Gresham instructed Mr. Willis that the president's view of his duty in connection with the illegal acts of American diplomatists and naval commanders was different from that of the provisional government, and that such acts required the president to disavow the officials and, " within the limits of his constitutional power," to undo their work. As, however, the whole matter had been referred to the wider powers of Congress, the minister was directed to consider his special instructions in the affair fully complied with. During November and December, while Minister Willis's negotiations with the queen were in progress, but before their exact character was known, much excitement prevailed in Hawaii, and the provisional government and its adherents expected an attempt to restore the queen by force. The possibility of such a course was widely discussed in the United States, and was the basis of violent attacks on the administration in the press. As finally made public, the instructions to Mr. Willis were found to embody a declaration that the president could not employ force, either to restore or to maintain the queen's authority, save with the authority of Congress. Since the reply of the provisional government and the ensuing instructions to Mr. Willis, which were transmitted to Congress and made public January 13, the general diplomatic situation has remained unchanged. Steps have been taken meanwhile by the provisional government toward a constitutional convention to put the organization on a permanent basis. — Early in April, substantially identical bills were passed by Congress and by the British Parliament for putting into effect the joint regulations agreed upon by the court of arbitration for the protection of the Behring Sea seals (see last RECORD, p. 770). On May 9, the Senate ratified a treaty with Russia by which substantially the same regulations were established for Russian and American sealing interests as had just before been put in force by Great Britain and the United States. — Though the registration of Chinese in the United States proceeded satisfactorily under the new law noticed in the last RECORD, the desirability of having the subject

regulated by international agreement led to the negotiation of a **treaty with China**, under date of March 17, which was reported by the committee on foreign relations to the Senate, March 28, without amendment. The treaty provides for the prohibition of the entrance of Chinese laborers into the United States except in the following cases: (1) A laborer registered under the laws of the United States may, on going out of the country, by giving a written description of his family or property or debts, obtain a certificate which shall entitle him to return within a year; (2) the privilege of transit across the territory of the United States is assured to Chinese laborers, under proper regulations to prevent abuse. Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants or travelers, who are not laborers, are not affected by the exclusion. The Chinese government agrees to the enforcement of the registration acts in the United States, and the United States recognizes the right of China to enact corresponding laws in reference to American laborers in China. The treaty is to run for ten years. — The disturbed condition of affairs in **Central America** has given rise to several minor diplomatic incidents. An American mail steamer, whose captain refused to give up a passenger at the demand of the authorities in a port of Honduras, was fired upon, November 6, by the military, though without damage. A demand for reparation brought a prompt apology from the government of Honduras, and a disavowal of its officers' acts. More interest was excited by incidents on the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua. In connection with the war with Honduras (*infra*, p. 376), a Nicaraguan force took possession of Bluefields, the chief town of the Mosquito reservation. Some friction arose between the Nicaraguans and the Mosquito authorities, the latter claiming local autonomy under a treaty of 1860 between Great Britain and Nicaragua. On its way to Bluefields, where American interests are important, the United States corvette *Kearsarge* was wrecked on Roncador Reef, and a British war vessel, having reached the town, landed a force for a time and maintained order. To questions put by the United States, the British government replied that the purpose of this action was solely the security of life and property for foreigners, and that no protectorate over the Mosquito Indians was desired or intended. Bluefields is about 100 miles north of Greytown, the terminus of the Nicaragua Canal, and falls under the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. During April considerable friction was reported between the Nicaraguans and the American residents, and a man-of-war was kept in the vicinity.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION. — The report of the secretary of the treasury, transmitted to Congress December 20, opened with an estimate that the year ending June 30, 1894, would show a deficit of \$28,000,000. To meet this situation he suggested various measures, apart from the recasting of the revenue system. Regarding it as undesirable to use the power already existing to put out high-rate and long-term securities, he asked for authority to issue a three per cent bond, redeemable

in five years, and recommended that the denominations be low, so as to enlist the interest of the masses of the people, and that the bonds be disposed of through sub-treasuries and post offices, so as to save commissions. Another suggestion for meeting the emergency was the issue of a three per cent one-year bond, to be sold or paid out to government creditors at par. Mr. Carlisle described the decrease in the gold reserve for greenback redemption, and dwelt upon the necessity of some scheme which should enable him to keep up that reserve, as well as to pay the current expenses of the government. While endorsing the principles of the tariff bill pending in the House of Representatives, he thought it would bring a revenue some \$50,000,000 less than what would be necessary, and to meet this deficit he advocated an increase of the tax on distilled spirits, and the imposition of new taxes on cigars and cigarettes, cosmetics, perfumeries, legacies and successions, and incomes from investments in corporate securities. — From the beginning of the period under review the condition of the treasury, which the secretary's report showed to be so bad, grew worse and worse. Expenditures ran steadily far ahead of receipts, and the balances on hand, both of gold and of currency, tended rapidly to extinction. On January 13, Secretary Carlisle submitted to the finance committee of the Senate a statement showing that the excess of expenditures over receipts to that date had reached \$43,000,000, and that at the same rate the deficit for the year would be \$78,000,000, or nearly three times what he had estimated in his report in December. The gold reserve was down to \$74,000,000, and the secretary declared that the ordinary expenses of the government would soon have to be paid wholly out of that fund. Unless something were promptly done by Congress to authorize the issue of low-rate bonds, he announced that he would put forth high-rate bonds under the power granted by the Resumption Act of 1875. No steps having been taken by Congress, on January 17 the secretary announced **a bond issue of \$50,000,000.** The bonds were to be redeemable after ten years, and to bear five per cent interest, payable in coin. No bid would be accepted lower than 117.223, the equivalent of a three per cent bond at par. The Treasury's policy was immediately antagonized by the silver party, who wanted the financial emergency tided over by the coinage of the seigniorage (see below, p. 353). The House judiciary committee adopted a resolution denying the power claimed by the secretary to use the proceeds of the bonds for paying the current expenses of the government, and under the auspices of the Knights of Labor a suit was brought for an injunction to restrain the secretary from issuing the bonds. Financiers found fault with the method of the issue, and claimed that there was absolutely no chance for profit under the terms imposed. On the last day of the term allowed for bids, however, the New York bankers, after several consultations with Mr. Carlisle, decided to sustain him, and subscribed for some \$45,000,000. The subscription terminated February 1, and the total amount called for was about \$58,000,000. The treasury gold balance, meanwhile, had run down to \$65,500,000, but the pro-

ceeds of the bonds contributed to raise it well above the \$100,000,000 mark. In April, however, a foreign demand for gold set in, and by the close of this RECORD the surplus over this sum had again about disappeared. — The work of **the pension bureau** in weeding out irregularities has been continued on the lines described in the last RECORD. A number of additional frauds were discovered, and prosecutions of offending agents were instituted. A provision attached to a deficiency appropriation bill passed in December forbade the suspension of a pension pending an investigation of the right to the pension or of fraud in obtaining it. The commissioner accordingly ceased the practice, though, on the advice of the attorney-general, he refused to remove the suspensions pending at the passage of the act. In replying to a resolution of Congress touching this matter, the commissioner took strong ground against the claim that a pension is a "vested right," and held that it is only a bounty, subject to the will of the donor. — The Department of the Navy was called upon in the fall to deal with evidence of illegal practices by the employees of the contractors who were engaged in the production of armor plates for the government. Plates of less than the best quality were found to have been imposed upon the inspectors, though none that were under the lowest limit of tolerance specified in the contract. After careful investigation the secretary of the navy, while absolving the members of the contracting company from knowledge of the frauds, decided, nevertheless, that damages must be paid to the government, and, on appeal to the president, the decision was affirmed, though the amount of the assessment was reduced. The company, accordingly, on January 17, paid to the treasury under the decision \$140,484.94. Reports of further frauds were circulated later, and are under investigation at the close of this RECORD. — In connection with **the civil service**, the course of the administration has continued to excite serious criticism from the advocates of reform. Particularly hostile comment was excited by the Van Alen case. Mr. J. J. Van Alen was nominated as Minister to Italy, and was confirmed at the end of October. As it became known that Mr. Van Alen had been a large contributor to the campaign fund in the last election, it was charged that his nomination involved practically the sale of the office. On November 20, Mr. Van Alen addressed to the secretary of state a letter declining the appointment. He acknowledged his gratification at the honor done him, declared that his financial assistance in the campaign had been due to a profound conviction that the success of the party was necessary to the country's good, and that the contribution had never been regarded by him as creating an obligation, and confessed his inability to see that it was less patriotic to aid a cause in which one believed by money than with voice or pen. But as the criticism of his appointment had put him in a false position, and as acceptance would bring undeserved rebuke upon the administration, he felt bound to decline. The president urged him to reconsider, but in vain, and the place was filled by the appointment of Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania. — The Civil Service Commission was remodeled

by the removal, November 29, of Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, who declined a request to resign, and the appointment, as his successor, of John R. Procter, of Kentucky. The nomination to fill the vacancy in the United States Supreme Court led to a **conflict between the president and Senator Hill**, of New York. Mr. W. B. Hornblower, a New York lawyer belonging to the faction of the Democratic Party opposed to Senator Hill, was nominated for the justiceship in the autumn, but on January 15 the Senate adopted, by 30 to 24, a resolution of the judiciary committee rejecting the nomination. Eighteen Democrats voted with the minority and twelve with the majority. Lack of reputation and experience were alleged as grounds for voting against Mr. Hornblower, though Senator Hill made much of the fact that the president had not consulted him about the nomination, and thus appealed to the custom of "senatorial courtesy." On the 22d of January the name of Wheeler H. Peckham was sent in for the justiceship. Mr. Peckham's reputation and experience were greater than those of the former nominee, but his political attitude toward Senator Hill was even more antagonistic, and the senator was consulted in his case no more than in the other. A sharp struggle between the factions in the Senate ended in the rejection of the nomination, February 16, by 41 to 32, with 15 Democrats in the majority and 23 in the minority. The president then, giving up the attempt to appoint a New York man, on the 19th sent in the name of Senator White, of Louisiana, who was immediately confirmed. Other appointments during the period were as follows: Assistant Secretary of War, Joseph E. Doe, of Wisconsin; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, C. W. Dabney, Jr., of Tennessee; Minister to Bolivia, Thomas Moonlight, of Kansas; Minister to Sweden and Norway, T. B. Ferguson, of Maryland.

CONGRESS.—The first regular session of the fifty-third Congress began December 4, just a month after the end of the extraordinary session. **The president's message** contained no points of especial interest in respect to foreign relations, the Hawaiian matter being relegated for discussion to a promised special message. On the currency question Mr. Cleveland expressed his satisfaction at the action of Congress in the special session, and his conviction that no further action should be taken until financial and commercial conditions became more settled and the effects of the new law were fully revealed. He announced that, having no definite proposition ready for submission to the monetary conference, which was to have reassembled November 30, he had agreed to a further postponement. In respect to the Postal Department, the president referred to the growing deficit, which was estimated at eight millions for the current year, and suggested a curtailment of the matter carried free, and a relinquishment of the policy of extending the free-delivery system. The condition of the treasury was made the ground also for the suggestion of caution in further appropriations for the new navy. Pension frauds were vigorously denounced, and the president protested that "those who attempt in the line of duty to rectify these wrongs should not be accused of enmity or indifference to the

claims of honest veterans." The message contained an earnest denunciation of the abuses of the free distribution of seeds through the Agricultural Department. During the last fiscal year there were sent out enough cabbage seed to plant 19,200 acres, enough beans to plant 4000 acres, enough sweet corn to plant 7800 acres, *etc., etc.* To stop this abuse it was recommended that the appropriation be reduced from \$135,000 to \$35,000. The message presented a strong endorsement of the work of the Civil Service Commission, and concluded with an earnest plea for tariff reform in the direction of free raw materials, with a small tax on corporate incomes. — The primary work of Congress was in connection with the Tariff Bill, the progress of which is described under a separate head. While this was engaging the attention of the House, the Senate took up the bill for the **repeal of the Federal Election Laws**, and passed it, February 7, by 39 to 28, substantially a party vote. By the signature of the president on the following day, this relic of Reconstruction was removed from the statute-book. Following this came a lively struggle over the **Seigniorage Bill**. This measure, introduced in the House by Mr. Bland, provided for the immediate coinage of silver in the treasury to an amount equal to the difference between the cost and the coin value of the bullion purchased under the Sherman Act, which difference amounted to about \$55,000,000. The bill provided that certificates should be issued on this seigniorage as fast as coined, or faster, if the needs of the treasury required. A second section directed that, after the seigniorage was disposed of, the remaining bullion in the treasury should be coined, and the treasury notes based on it should be redeemed and replaced by silver certificates. This bill was passed in the House, March 1, by 168 to 129, the majority consisting of Democrats and Populists, with 19 Southern and Western Republicans; the minority, of Republicans, with 49 Eastern Democrats. In the Senate the friends of the bill took parliamentary advantage of a little carelessness on the part of its adversaries to cut off the long debate that was expected, and on March 15 the bill passed by 44 to 31, ten Republicans for, and nine Democrats against it. On the 29th President Cleveland vetoed the bill. His general position was that of favor to the idea of coining the seigniorage, but of hostility to this particular bill, and especially to the second section, which went beyond this simple idea. He objected to the phraseology of the bill, which was in places ambiguous, but found a wider ground for his veto in the belief that "sound finance does not commend a further infusion of silver into our currency at this time, unaccompanied by further adequate provision for the maintenance in our treasury of a safe gold reserve." As to the second section, he considered ill-advised and dangerous the scheme by which it was proposed to replace legal-tender treasury-notes, redeemable in either gold or silver, by silver certificates which are not legal tender, and are redeemable only in silver. Such a proceeding, he held, would inevitably stimulate the withdrawal of gold from the treasury, and render more difficult than ever the maintenance of parity between the metals in our currency.

The president expressed, in conclusion, a willingness to see the seigniorage coined, if at the same time provision were made for a low-rate, short-term bond to protect the gold reserve. On the question of overriding this veto, the vote in the House, April 4, stood 144 to 115, not two-thirds in the affirmative. — The blocking of business in the House of Representatives, due to the inability of the Democrats to maintain the presence of a majority consisting of their own members, and the refusal of the Republicans present to vote, forced the Democratic caucus finally to approve in April a rule for **counting a quorum** from members present and not voting. There was great reluctance to taking this course, since the principle had been stoutly resisted by the Democrats when applied by Speaker Reed (see this *QUARTERLY*, V, 360). But a proposition to impose a fine for refusal to vote failed to gain much support, and there seemed no other way out of the difficulty. Accordingly the rules were amended by the House, April 17, so as to provide that members present but not voting on roll-call should be counted. In distinction from the Reed rule, however, the responsibility of making the list is devolved on two tellers, and not on the speaker.

THE TARIFF. — The Democratic members of the House committee on ways and means began during the special session (see last *RECORD*) the preparation of a tariff bill. The outcome of their labors was **the Wilson Bill**, which was laid before the whole committee and made public November 27. On the previous day the sugar schedule was given out, in order to terminate the manipulation of the stock market through false reports as to the committee's conclusions. The characteristic features of the bill, as described in the statement of Chairman Wilson which accompanied it, were as follows : First, the adoption, wherever practicable, of *ad valorem* instead of specific duties ; second, "the freeing from taxes of those great materials of industry that lie at the basis of production." Specific duties were held to be objectionable, first, as concealing the true weight of taxation, and second, as bearing unjustly on consumers of commoner articles. Free raw materials were held necessary to the stimulation of industry and the extension of foreign trade. The schedules, as reported, showed, in addition to a very extensive increase in the free list, reductions in rates, as compared with the McKinley Bill, on all but a small number of items. The important additions to the free list included iron ore, lumber, coal and wool. Raw sugar was left free, as in the existing law, but the rate on refined sugar was reduced from one-half to one-fourth of a cent per pound, and the bounty was repealed one-eighth per annum until extinguished. Some amendments were made in the administrative provisions of the tariff law, designed to soften, as the committee said, features of the McKinley Bill "that would treat the business of importing as an outlawry, not entitled to the protection of the government." It was estimated that the reduction of revenue effected would be about \$50,000,000, and the committee set to work on an internal revenue bill to make good this deficiency. On January 8 Mr. Wilson brought up **the bill in the House**, and debate began under a

rule calling for a vote on the 29th. During the consideration in committee a number of changes were made in the schedules, the most important being in respect to sugar, where the duty was taken off refined sugars, and the repeal of the bounty was made immediate instead of gradual. A clause was inserted, also, specifically repealing the reciprocity provision of the McKinley Act. The greatest general interest was excited, however, by the progress of the internal revenue bill, the chief feature of which was a **proposition for an income tax**. The bill, after formulation by the Democratic members of the ways and means committee, was brought before the full committee January 22. Besides the income tax, the measure provided for a stamp duty on playing cards, and raised the excise on distilled spirits to one dollar per gallon. As to incomes, the committee's bill, contrary to an intimation in President Cleveland's message (see above), affected individuals directly as well as corporations. As to individuals, it imposed a tax of two per cent on all incomes so far as they were in excess of \$4,000, after allowing deductions for taxes, losses not covered by insurance and bad debts. Declarations of income were required from all persons having over \$3,500, under heavy penalties for neglect, refusal or fraud in the matter. As to corporations, the same rate was levied on all interest on bonds, and on all dividends and all surplus income above dividends, excepting premiums returned to policy holders by mutual life insurance companies, interest to depositors in savings banks, and dividends of building loan associations. Corporations were required to make regular returns as to the condition of their business, and to allow inspection of their books by revenue officers. The income-tax measure was immediately and very vigorously antagonized by a considerable number of Eastern Democrats, headed by the New York Congressmen. It was adopted by the ways and means committee mainly through Southern and Western votes. On the 24th of January it was reported to the House. A Democratic caucus on the following day resolved by a small majority, against the wish of Mr. Wilson, to attach the measure to the Tariff Bill. Accordingly, the rule regulating the debate was modified to allow discussion of the amendment. The final votes were then taken on February 1. The internal revenue bill was added to the Wilson Bill by 182 to 50, 44 Democrats voting in the minority and most of the Republicans not voting. The measure as amended was then adopted by 204 to 140, 16 Democrats and one Populist going with the Republicans in the negative. In the hands of the Senate finance committee the bill underwent a thorough revision, differences of opinion in the Democratic majority leading to a careful discussion of the measure in a party caucus. The measure as amended was laid before the full committee March 8, and was introduced **in the Senate** on the 20th. Changes in details were very numerous. The most important consisted in taking sugar, iron ore and coal off the free list and subjecting each to a small duty. Debate on the bill was opened April 2. It was soon discovered, however, that many Democratic senators were seriously

dissatisfied with the schedules affecting the industries of their respective states, and at the end of April there was a lull in the debate while the factions of the majority adjusted their differences. A scheme of changes was finally agreed to in caucus on May 3, and laid before the Senate by the finance committee on the 8th. The most important features were a new sugar schedule, which had given great trouble, and very numerous changes from *ad valorem* to specific duties, with a net increase in rates.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.—The supreme court, November 6, 1893, reversed a decree of the territorial court of Utah prescribing the application of the confiscated Mormon Church property to certain charitable and religious purposes. As Congress had, since the decree, enacted a law directing the restoration of the property to the Mormon Church, the court ordered action in accordance with this law. On December 18, in the case *In re Swan*, the court held that the South Carolina Dispensary Act did not authorize the search for and seizure of liquors without a warrant, and refused to release on *habeas corpus* a constable who had been committed for contempt for so seizing certain liquor in the possession of a railway which was in the hands of a federal receiver. At the end of February, the United States district court at Chicago, in *United States vs. James, et al.*, decided that the recent act of Congress requiring witnesses to testify before the Interstate Commerce Commission, with the guarantee of immunity from prosecution based on their own statements (see this *QUARTERLY*, VIII, 378), was void as conflicting with the fourth and fifth amendments to the constitution.

II. AFFAIRS IN THE STATES.

THE ELECTIONS.—The voting for state officers in November showed quite generally a pronounced reaction against the Democratic successes of the previous year. In New York and New Jersey the Republicans wrested control of the legislatures from their opponents, and in Massachusetts and Iowa, displaced Democratic governors. **Incidents of special interest** were as follows: Mr. McKinley, for governor of Ohio, secured a plurality of 80,000 over Mr. Neal, whose free-trade convictions were as conspicuous a feature in the campaign as the protectionist opinions of his opponent. In New York, Mr. Maynard, the Democratic candidate for judge of the court of appeals, was antagonized by the Cleveland faction of the party, on the ground of alleged unscrupulous methods in support of the Hill faction's projects in previous elections. All the Democratic candidates for state offices were defeated, but Maynard ran 44,000 votes behind the ticket. In Gravesend, a suburb of Brooklyn, the political organization headed by John Y. McKane resorted to very high-handed measures to prevent its opponents—Republicans and independent Democrats—from copying the registration lists and watching the vote. On election day no one not known to McKane or his followers was allowed to approach the polls, or even to remain in the village, and citizens armed with orders from the courts were

treated with violence. Public sentiment expressed itself strongly both in the elections and otherwise against these proceedings, and as the regular county officials were suspected of sympathy with the offenders, the governor appointed special prosecutors, who secured the conviction, first of McKane, and then of a large number of his followers, on charges of violating the election laws. In Chicago much interest was centered in the candidacy for reelection of Judge Gary, who presided at the trial of the Anarchists concerned in the Haymarket tragedy in 1886, and who had been severely denounced by Governor Altgeld recently, when the latter pardoned those convicted. Being refused the nomination of the Democratic organization, Judge Gary was taken up by the Republicans and reelected by a large majority, running much ahead of his ticket. — The trend of the **spring elections**, municipal and other, was very distinctly favorable to the Republicans, showing a continuance of the reaction manifested in the fall. An election in Pennsylvania in February for congressman-at-large resulted in the choice of the Republican candidate, ex-Speaker Grow, by the unprecedented plurality of 187,000. In Rhode Island the deadlock between the two houses of the legislature on the question of choosing a governor (see last RECORD) remained unbroken after the session began in January. The regular elections, April 4, settled the matter by the choice of the Republican candidate for governor by 6000 plurality, and the return of a legislature consisting of one hundred Republicans and six Democrats. In the meantime, on November 28, the constitutional amendment providing that a plurality should elect, was ratified on a popular vote, by a large majority. — Other **constitutional amendments** voted upon during the year in the states were not important. Maryland ratified a series of changes in respect to the Baltimore judiciary. Michigan ratified four, the most important providing for an increase in the salaries of certain state officers. During the winter, however, it was discovered that the vote on this amendment had been converted into a majority in the affirmative by the most bare-faced manipulation of the returns. The secretary of state, treasurer and land commissioner, who were members of the canvassing board and at the same time beneficiaries of the amendment's adoption, were immediately removed from office and indicted. Ohio gave a majority, but not a sufficient majority, for amendments touching taxation and the arrangement of legislative districts. Washington rejected a proposition to increase the limit of state indebtedness.

VARIOUS LEGISLATION. — The matter of **woman suffrage** has been up for action in some form in a number of the states. In Colorado an act granting the suffrage to women was submitted, under a constitutional requirement, to the people for ratification at the election in November. The result was a majority of 6347 in favor of the act, and Colorado accordingly takes its place by the side of Wyoming as putting the sexes on an equality as to the ballot. Kansas has pending a constitutional amendment, to be submitted to the voters next November, granting full suffrage rights to women. A proposition for full woman suffrage was lost in the Iowa

senate in February ; but in April the legislature passed a law giving to women the right to vote in municipal or school elections involving an issue of bonds or an increase of taxation. In Massachusetts a bill giving women the suffrage in municipal elections passed the lower house, but was defeated in the Senate in April. The Ohio legislature passed, April 24, an act granting the suffrage to women in all school elections. In New York the court of appeals decided, January 24, that the law allowing women to vote for school commissioners was unconstitutional. — Two important judicial opinions have been rendered in respect to **the New Jersey legislature**. A decision of the supreme court, November 9, declared unconstitutional the method, followed during the last forty years, of choosing assemblymen by single election districts instead of by general ticket for the counties. This will render gerrymandering more difficult in the future. The other opinion, by the same court, settled a dispute between the Republican and the Democratic members of the newly elected state senate, which had resulted in a dual organization. Each party claimed to be the legal senate, and the one was recognized by the Democratic governor and the other by the Republican assembly. The legal point at issue was, as to whether the senate was or was not a continuous body. After a two months' blockade of legislation, the matter was brought by mutual consent before the court, and on March 21, its decision declared that the senate, though its membership changed by thirds, was not a continuous body, but required a new organization annually, in which all duly elected members were entitled to participate. This was the Republican contention, and gave them the control of the house. — The Virginia legislature passed in March a ballot-reform law on the so-called Australian principle. Virginia is the thirty-seventh state to take such action. — **The Illinois Anti-Trust Law** has been effectively employed by the state attorney-general. On the 5th of April he secured a decision in the suit against the Whiskey Trust, that that organization was illegal. And later in the month he gave an opinion that the Chicago Gas Company was also an illegal concern, and began proceedings to annul the charters of the corporations of which it is composed. He has also indicated a purpose to move against other prominent combinations of a similar character. — The enforcement of **the South Carolina Dispensary Law** in the face of a strong adverse sentiment among the people has severely tested Governor Tillman's resources. In his message to the legislature, November 28, he declared that the operation of the act had been profitable financially and morally. The constitutionality of the law was upheld by the lower state courts, but convictions for selling liquor in violation of its provisions were difficult to obtain, and the constables employed by the governor to ferret out illegal salesrooms were the objects of great antipathy. On March 30, a party of twenty-three armed constables carried out a search of private houses in the town of Darlington, where the threatening attitude of the citizens had prevented the accomplishment of the task by fewer officers. An altercation at the railway station between constables and citizens led to the use of arms in

an affray in which two citizens and one officer were killed. The officers were put to flight by the townsmen and were hunted out of the county, with threats of lynching. In neighboring localities sympathetic mobs wrecked the dispensaries. Governor Tillman promptly proclaimed three counties in insurrection, called out the militia and took possession of the railways and telegraphs in the state. The Charleston and Columbia militia and some other companies refused to obey the governor's summons and gave up their arms, but most of the country companies turned out and occupied Darlington. No resistance was offered to the troops, and after an inquest on the victims of the affray had been held under their protection, they were withdrawn and the civil status was restored. Two constables and one citizen were held on charges of murder. On April 19 the long-awaited decision of the state supreme court was rendered, declaring the principal provisions of the Dispensary Law unconstitutional. The governor thereupon closed the state dispensaries and gave up further attempts to enforce the law, pending further action by the courts or the legislature. On May 8, the supreme court supplemented its former decision by holding that no licenses to sell liquor could be granted in the state under the existing law ; so prohibition practically prevails. An underlying cause of much of the feeling on this matter has been the political animosity between the old ruling element in the state and the Populists, whom Governor Tillman represents.—The same general cause was working in the development in **Colorado**, in March, of a threatening conflict between the state executive and the Denver police authorities. Under a recent law Governor Waite removed certain members of the police and fire department boards, and appointed successors. The old members disputed the validity of his acts and secured an injunction restraining him from taking possession of their offices. As his right to remove had been sustained by the supreme court, the governor resolved to disregard the injunction, and on the 15th he called out the militia to gain the City Hall. The police were armed and preparations were made to resist the militia. While the two forces confronted each other, citizens intervened to prevent bloodshed, and the governor called upon the federal troops in the vicinity to preserve order. A detachment was brought into the city, the militia were withdrawn, and the matter was then referred to the supreme court for settlement. On the 24th the court decided that the governor was right so far as the removal of the officers was concerned, but that he was wrong in calling out the militia, instead of applying to the courts, to enforce his orders.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—At the annual convention of the Knights of Labor, held at Philadelphia, November 14–28, Grand Master Workman Powderly, for fifteen years the head of the order, was succeeded by J. R. Sovereign, of Iowa. The new leader's first address to the organization, issued December 7, contained, in addition to the usual denunciation of capitalists, a strong demand for the free coinage of silver and an expansion of the currency. In accordance with the policy thus suggested

Mr. Sovereign and other officers of the order applied, January 27, to the supreme court of the District of Columbia for an injunction to restrain Secretary Carlisle from making his proposed bond issue (see above, p. 350). The application was denied on the ground that the applicants could not show that the alleged illegal act would injuriously affect their property rights. — The Federation of Labor met in annual assembly at Chicago in December. Among other acts was the passage of a resolution approving the pardon of the Chicago Anarchists by Governor Altgeld. Overtures were received from the Knights of Labor looking to combined effort by the two organizations, along with other less extensive orders, for the purpose of improving the condition of the working classes, by political action, if necessary. — The most important **strikes of the period** have been among the railway men and the miners. A rather obstinate strike of engineers and firemen on the Lehigh Valley Railway was terminated early in December through the efforts of the New York and New Jersey state boards of arbitration. In April certain classes of employees on the Great Northern Railroad "tied up" that road from St. Paul to Seattle, and caused considerable trouble. Wages schedules and the recognition of the employees' organization were the questions at issue. An adjustment favorable to the workmen was concluded May 1 through the good offices of the business men of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Local difficulties in the mining regions of West Virginia and Colorado and among the coke makers of Pennsylvania, in March and April, were attended with conflicts between the strikers and the authorities and some loss of life. A general strike of bituminous coal miners throughout the country went into effect April 21, under the auspices of the organization known as the United Mine Workers. The object was declared to be, first, to get rid of the surplus stock of coal so as to keep up prices; second, to get a favorable arrangement with employers for future work. — Further **decisions of the federal courts** (*cf.* this QUARTERLY, VIII, 386) have cast new but rather confusing light on the national law as to strikes. Judge Jenkins, at Milwaukee, granted an injunction, December 19, restraining the officers of an employees' organization from carrying out a threat to bring about a strike on a road which was in the hands of the court. On April 6 the judge struck out the most far-reaching expressions of his order, but still insisted unflinchingly on "the right of a court of equity to restrain a strike on a railway." On the previous day, April 5, the circuit court at Omaha refused under similar circumstances to enjoin employees from striking, and held that "specific performance of a contract to render personal service cannot be enforced by injunction, by pains and penalties or by any other means."

THE UNEMPLOYED. — The business depression that continued after the panic of last summer brought into great prominence during the winter the problem of the unemployed. In all the large cities and manufacturing towns the subject engaged the attention not only of charitable private citizens but also of the authorities. Systematic organization for relief was

effected in most places, and in many cities public works were put under construction for the purpose of giving employment. Enumerations of the unemployed were taken in a number of places by the authorities, and in most cases they gave results far below what had been estimated. A peculiar outcome of the social and political conditions of the winter was the organization of various "**armies of the unemployed**" for the purpose of marching to Washington and petitioning Congress for aid. The originator of the idea seems to have been one Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, who took up the proposition that, as good roads and money were both much needed in the country, the government should in the existing crisis issue \$500,000,000 in greenbacks, and devote it to the employment of workers in the improvement of the roads. He announced that he would lead an "Army of the Commonwealth of Christ" to Washington to proclaim the wants of the people on the steps of the Capitol on May 1, and he called upon the unemployed and honest laboring classes to join him. On March 25 he set out from Massillon at the head of about a hundred men and marched by easy stages and without disorder through Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, provisions being donated by the towns and villages on the way, or purchased with funds which had been subscribed by sympathizing friends. The numbers of the army increased as it advanced, and groups of volunteers set out to join it from distant states. On May 1 the detachment, numbering about 350, marched to the Capitol, but under an old District law was prevented by the police from entering the grounds. Coxey and another of the leaders, attempting to elude the police and address the assembled crowds, were arrested and were afterwards convicted of a misdemeanor. At the close of the RECORD the "army" was still encamped in Washington, with no very definite plans for the future. Somewhat earlier than the start from Massillon, another organization, "The United States Industrial Army," headed by one Frye, had started from Los Angeles, California, for Washington, with purposes similar to those of the Coxey force, though not limiting their demands to work on the roads. This force, numbering from six to eight hundred men, availed themselves of the assistance, more or less involuntary, of freight trains on the Southern Pacific Railway as far as St. Louis, from which place they continued on foot. Though observing a degree of military discipline, the various "armies" were unarmed, and the disturbances that arose in several places in the latter part of April were mostly due to the efforts of the marchers, or their friends in their behalf, to press the railroads into service for transportation. Thus a band under a leader named Kelly, starting from San Francisco, April 4, secured freight accommodations as far as Omaha by simply refusing to leave Oakland until the cars were furnished. The railroads eastward from Omaha refused absolutely to carry them, and they went into camp near Council Bluffs, in Iowa. Then sympathizing Knights of Labor seized a train by force and offered it to Kelly, who refused, however, to accept it under the circumstances, and ultimately continued on foot as far as Des Moines, in Iowa. After a long stay at

that place, he was finally supplied with flatboats, on which, at the close of this RECORD, his band, now swollen to some 1200 men, was floating southward. A band coming east on a stolen train on the Northern Pacific, after overpowering a squad of United States marshals, was captured by a detachment of regular troops at Forsyth, Montana, April 26. Two days later the militia were called out to rescue a train from a band at Mount Sterling, Ohio. Up to May 10 a number of other more or less serious incidents on railways in the far Western states were reported, but no other detachments had reached the capital.

LYNCH LAW.—The incidents under this head seem to have been rather less numerous during the winter than they were during the preceding summer. Enough have occurred, however, to testify to a serious social demoralization. A record of cases reported in the papers for the six months under review, which makes no pretense, however, to completeness, shows thirty-six instances of lynching, exclusive of deaths in more or less formal race conflicts. All the cases were east of Colorado; twenty-six were in the South (*i.e.*, states in which slavery existed in 1860) and ten in the North. In the South all the victims were negroes, and the offense charged was in ten of the cases criminal assault on a white woman. In the North seven of the victims were white and three black, and the offense charged in most cases was murder, only two victims, and those white men, being charged with rape—in both cases on little girls. The distribution of the Northern instances among the states was as follows: Kansas, five; Ohio, two; Iowa, Illinois and Pennsylvania each one. In Mississippi, in February, the spectators at a lawful execution of a negro intervened in a way quite different from the ordinary. The rope by which the condemned was hanged having given way before he was dead, the crowd, “by unanimous vote,” as the report stated, declared that further action should be postponed. In Florida, November 12, an attempt to lynch a white man who had been acquitted of murder was thwarted by the timely appearance of a company of militia.

II. FOREIGN NATIONS.

EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.—The only important development in this field has been in the further extension of the system of **commercial treaties**. Most conspicuous here was the conclusion of the Russo-German convention. Early in November the last obstacles to an agreement were removed, chiefly through the personal intervention of the Czar. The treaty was signed February 5 and, after ratification by the Reichstag (see below), went into effect March 20. By its provisions Russia secured the same favors that Germany had already accorded to other nations in recent treaties. A natural sequel to this arrangement was a *modus vivendi* between Russia and Austria-Hungary, agreed to April 2, to cover the time that must elapse before pending negotiations result in a defi-

nite commercial treaty. Spain and France concluded, on December 30, an agreement for a year, to prevent a pending tariff war, and a treaty between Spain and Belgium was signed March 30.

THE ANARCHISTS. — Throughout the period under review Western Europe has been the scene of deadly activity on the part of these sectaries. The most terrible incident was that in **Spain**, where a bomb was exploded in the audience at the opera house of Barcelona, November 7, killing and wounding over seventy persons. Police investigations resulted in the discovery of a widespread organization of Anarchists, with foreign affiliations, to whose agency had been due all the recent disturbances in Spain. Stringent repressive measures were immediately adopted by the government for the extinction of this sort of lawlessness. The most important of the suspects arrested by the police were turned over to the military authorities, to be dealt with by court-martial. Little progress could be made in fixing guilt definitely on any individual. On January 25 an Anarchist attempted the assassination of the civil governor of Barcelona, but only inflicted a painful wound. At the opening of the Cortes in April laws were passed imposing the extremest penalties on the criminal use, or even the possession, of explosives, and on the laudation of crime in the press, and declaring illegal all Anarchist organizations. — Less destructive, but more startling, than the Spanish incidents was that in **France**, December 9, when an Anarchist named Vaillant threw a bomb from the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies, while the chamber was in session. The missile exploded before it reached the floor, and hence, while a multitude of more or less serious wounds were inflicted, no one was killed outright. Bills putting much more stringent regulations on the press and on the making of explosives were immediately brought in by the ministry and passed, and the police instituted a vigorous campaign against all suspected of Anarchistic ideas. Foreigners with such sympathies were summarily expelled from France, and natives were put under strict surveillance. On the night of December 31 a general raid on suspected houses was made throughout the country, and great quantities of Anarchist literature and explosives were seized, but no particularly important arrests seem to have been made. Vaillant was regularly tried and convicted in January and executed February 5. On the 12th an Anarchist named Henry exploded a bomb in a crowded café at the Hotel Terminus, wrecking the place and wounding more than twenty persons, of whom several afterwards died. Henry was sentenced to death April 28. Several other explosions in hotels and restaurants occurred during the following months, notably that which wrecked the Restaurant Foyot, near the Palace of the Luxembourg, April 4. On March 15 a well-known dynamiter named Pauwels was killed at the door of the Madeleine, in Paris, by the premature explosion of a bomb which he was carrying into the building, presumably for the purpose of setting it off among the worshipers. The building was but slightly damaged. — The police in **other countries** were kept particularly busy

watching the movements of the Anarchists who were forced to fly from France and Spain. Many of the fugitives congregated in London, where attention was called to their presence by the accidental death of a Frenchman named Bourdin, who was blown to pieces by some explosives he was carrying in Greenwich Park, February 15. A police raid on an Anarchist club the following day resulted in the seizure of much literature and in the acquisition of considerable useful knowledge as to the general secret movement. In Italy, to which many agitators were attracted by the disturbances in the south, the most startling incident was an explosion, March 8, in front of the building where the Chamber of Deputies meets. Much damage was done to property, but no lives were lost. The Chamber had adjourned an hour before the explosion. Infernal machines sent from France to the German emperor and chancellor in the latter part of November were detected and disposed of without damage.—It was reported that during the winter some propositions were made by Spain and Austria looking to concerted action among the powers against the Anarchist movement, but that England and Germany declined to consider the matter.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.—British politics during the period under review fall into two clearly distinguishable divisions, the first including the final work of what will probably prove to be the **last session of Parliament under Mr. Gladstone**. This session was in respect to duration unprecedented in the history of the institution, lasting, with but slight interruptions, from January 31, 1893, to March 5, 1894. The Parish Councils Bill and the Employers' Liability Bill were made by the government the chief business when, after a forty days' recess, the houses reassembled, November 2. Both measures were antagonized on important points by the opposition, who took advantage, moreover, of a popular "naval scare," in December, to harass the government and force it to promise a large appropriation for new ships. The Employers' Liability Bill was passed by the Commons November 23. Its provisions required from employers of labor additional precautions against accidents, and modified the law of responsibility so as better to secure compensation to employees who were injured. The chief point of contention was, whether employers who already had voluntary insurance arrangements with their workmen should be allowed to contract themselves out of the provisions of the bill. The House of Lords adopted the bill with a contracting-out amendment, which the Commons, December 20, rejected, and the matter thus came to a deadlock. The Parish Councils Bill (see this *QUARTERLY*, VIII, 389) passed its second reading in the Commons November 7, and was in committee till January 9, the Conservatives making a strong opposition to some features of the clauses which gave to the elective councils control in the poor-law administration and over charitable trusts and laborers' allotments. The bill passed the Commons finally on January 12. On February 13 the Lords passed it, with numerous amendments, the most important of which raised from 200 to 500 the minimum population to

entitle a parish to an elective council, and put restrictions upon the councils' powers in many directions. The Commons now took up the Employers' Liability Bill, made a slight concession as to contracting out, and sent the bill again to the Lords. The latter persisted in their original amendment and returned the bill, whereupon Mr. Gladstone, on the 20th, urging that the working classes were set on having the measure without the contracting-out clause, announced that the government abandoned the bill. On the Parish Councils Bill the issue was different. Twice the Commons rejected amendments sent to it by the Lords, and each time the latter, mainly because the Liberal-Unionists declined to follow Lord Salisbury to extremes, modified their demands. Finally, when the bill was for the fourth time before the Commons, Mr. Gladstone, on March 1, accepted under protest the two final amendments of the Lords, in order to avoid the destruction of the bill, but accompanied his acceptance by a strong denunciation of the conduct of the upper house, declaring that "the issue is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of seven million men, and a different kind of assembly. . . . That issue, once raised, must go forward to its issue." All through the month, during the conflict between the houses, the Liberals in the country had been assailing the Peers by resolution and declamation, and the Unionists had responded with demands for a dissolution. But a new incident now arose to direct attention. As early as January 31 a daily paper had announced the approaching **retirement of Mr. Gladstone**. An unsatisfactory denial was given out, and the rumors continued. At last, on the day of his speech against the Lords, an authoritative statement was published, to the effect that an affliction of the eyes (which was later learned to be cataract) would necessitate his withdrawal from the leadership in the coming session. On March 3 Mr. Gladstone formally resigned, declining a peerage, and Lord Rosebery was asked by the queen to form a ministry. Mr. Labouchere, for the Radical wing of the Liberals, protested very vigorously against the recognition of a peer as party leader, but he secured no important following. **The Rosebery cabinet** was the same in *personnel* as Mr. Gladstone's, though by a shifting of positions Lord Kimberley became foreign minister, Mr. Fowler became Indian secretary, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, president of the local government board. Parliament was prorogued March 5. It reassembled for the new session March 12. The Queen's Speech announced a measure in reference to evicted tenants in Ireland, a Registration Bill, projects relating to ecclesiastical establishments in Wales and Scotland, and a Local Option Bill. The attitude of the Irish and Radical factions toward the new government, which depended on them for its majority in the Commons, attracted especial attention to the debate on the address. Lord Rosebery, in the House of Lords, declared himself in the fullest sympathy with home rule and all the other features of Mr. Gladstone's policy, but he excited much hostility among the Irish Nationalists by an expression which could be interpreted as implying a willingness to defer home rule until a majority

of the English voters favored it. Before he had an opportunity to explain the expression, the Nationalists in the Commons inflicted a reverse on the government by supporting and carrying Mr. Labouchere's amendment to the address, calling for the termination of the power of the Lords to prevent the passage of bills. To avoid the predicament in which this amendment placed the government, Sir William Harcourt, the leader in the Commons, brought in a new address, which was duly adopted, the premier having meanwhile explained away the construction put on his words. On account of the uncertainty of the Radical and Parnellite attitude, the government's position remained rather delicate. During the latter half of April the great bills were introduced by which the factions were to be satisfied. These were the Registration Bill, April 13; the Evicted Tenants Bill, April 19; the bill for the disestablishment of the church in Wales, April 26; and the Scotch Local Government Bill, April 27. The Budget presented by Sir William Harcourt, April 16, showed a deficit of £4,500,000, which he proposed to meet by an increase in the income tax, a radical readjustment of the death duties, introducing the progressive principle, and an increase in the excise on spirits and on beer. The waning strength of Lord Rosebery's government was made quite apparent on the second reading of the Budget Bill, which was carried, May 10, by a majority of only fourteen. — **The end of the coal-miners' strike**, which was in progress at the beginning of this RECORD, was brought about at last through intervention by the government. On November 13, Mr. Gladstone announced that, in view of the increasing distress among the poorer classes and the serious injury to the country's trade which were due to the strike, he had invited the employers' and the miners' associations to a conference, under the chairmanship of Lord Rosebery. The chairman was not to act as arbitrator or umpire, or to have any vote, but was merely to "offer his good services" to assist the parties to a friendly settlement. The good services were effective; for after a single conference, November 17, including, as was particularly pointed out by cynics, a luncheon at the Foreign Office, an agreement was reached on this basis: The men should resume work at the old wages until February 1, 1894. After that date the rate should be fixed from time to time by a board of conciliation, composed of fourteen representatives of owners and miners respectively, the chairman of which, if not agreed upon by the two parties, should be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Commons. Under this arrangement work was resumed, amid general rejoicing, on the 20th.

THE BRITISH COLONIES AND INDIA. — **The Canadian tariff** became the chief topic of interest in the Dominion Parliament, which opened March 14. The governor-general's speech announced a revision of the schedules, and the details of the scheme were revealed in the budget speech of the finance minister on the 27th. It was declared that the government stood unflinchingly on the principle of protection, but felt that in view of the surplus in the treasury a reduction could in many cases be

made. The proposed changes showed a general but slight reduction of rates, special favor being shown to the farmers. The government's program is opposed by the Liberal Party, who stand on the principle of a tariff for revenue only. A *plébiscite* on the desirability of legislative prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor has been taken in Ontario, in Prince Edward Island and in Nova Scotia. The result in each case was an enormous majority in the affirmative. The opinion of the supreme court of the Dominion on the Manitoba school case (see last RECORD) was rendered February 20. A majority of the court held that the acts of the Manitoba legislature gave no constitutional ground for an appeal to the Dominion government for remedial action in behalf of the Catholic minority. — **Politics in Newfoundland** have been of a rather exciting character. In the first place the British government has renewed, and in peremptory form, the demand that the colony enact the legislation necessary to ensure the enforcement of the arbitration treaty with France on the fisheries question (*cf.* this QUARTERLY, VII, 777). No action, however, has been taken. At the end of March a critical internal crisis developed. A decision of the courts was rendered which made it probable that rather more than half of the government's majority in the legislature would be disqualified from sitting, on account of corrupt practices in the election in November. As the governor declined to dissolve the house and appeal to the people, the cabinet resigned and a new ministry was constituted, April 14. The opposition then resorted to extraordinary measures to prevent prorogation, and passed a vote of no confidence. The governor, however, refused to recognize the vote, and proceeded to prorogue the house until the successive trials in the courts should disqualify enough of the opposition party to put their opponents in the majority. — **The financial situation in India** has continued to show the demoralizing effect of the closing of the mints last summer. Owing to the heavy falling off in the sale of council bills the Indian government was forced to use its borrowing powers extensively, and in December a resolution was passed in Parliament authorizing a further loan of £10,000,000. For the permanent relief of the Indian treasury, the reimposition of long discarded customs duties was proposed, and was sanctioned by the British government except as to the duties on cotton goods. This exception, due to the representations of Manchester mill owners, roused a violent and widespread opposition in India, where it was held that general Indian interests were being wantonly sacrificed to those of a few Englishmen.

FRANCE. — Parliament assembled November 14. The new Chamber of Deputies elected a Moderate Republican, M. Casimir-Périer, as its president, and on the 21st heard the government's program, which embodied a policy in fiscal, ecclesiastical and constitutional matters that amounted to a distinct declaration of war on the Radicals. But the Dupuy ministry was made up of both Radicals and Moderates, and this fact led to complications which necessitated the resignation of the ministry on the

25th. **The cabinet crisis** lasted until December 2, when a ministry headed by Casimir-Périer was announced, consisting entirely of Moderates. The declaration of the new government on the 4th was similar to that of the preceding cabinet, but an attack by the Radicals and Socialists, through a motion for amnesty to political, press and strike offenders, was overcome by a small majority, and on the following day the Moderates elected M. Dupuy as president of the Chamber by a somewhat larger majority over his Radical opponent. The excitement caused by the bomb explosion in the Chamber gave the government for a time a very strong position in respect to the numerous Socialist attacks. The laws prohibiting Anarchistic societies and the manufacture of explosives, restricting the press and making increased appropriations for the police were passed in December and January by overwhelming majorities, despite the Socialist complaints of encroachments on liberty. On an interpellation on the conduct of the police in hunting down the Anarchists, the government was sustained, January 27, by 408 to 64. A significant speech by M. Spuller, Minister of Public Worship, on the 3d of March, illustrated the tendency of the Moderates to accept the advances of the Pope and to separate widely from the Radicals on the question of **state and church**. Speaking on an interpellation in reference to a decree of the mayor of St. Denis forbidding the placing of a cross on a grave, M. Spuller declared that the government entirely repudiated all petty warfare on the church and stood on the principle of toleration, which it would apply in "a new spirit." In replying to Radical criticism of this expression, the minister regretted the passion which had characterized the Republican Party's treatment of ecclesiastical questions a decade in the past, and in which he himself had shared, and declared that since the church had accepted the republic, a new policy was needed and should be frankly adopted. On the vote the government's position was sustained by 280 to 120. — The most important **legislation completed** up to the end of this RECORD was: The conversion of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent into $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent *rentes*, effecting a saving of 68,000,000 francs annually; the establishment of a Ministry for the Colonies, to give more authority to the officer of the government charged with responsibility for colonial affairs. The budget introduced by M. Burdeau on April 16 showed a deficit of 83,000,000 francs. This he proposed to cover partly by a house tax, assessed on the basis of the old furniture tax and a new tax on domestic servants, and carrying exemptions proportioned to the number of children under sixteen years of age.

GERMANY. — Political interest has centered chiefly in the work of the Reichstag, which was in session from November 16 to April 19. The two great objects of the government's effort were to secure the legislature's approval of its new commercial treaties and of its projected financial reforms. As to **the commercial treaties**, Chancellor von Caprivi was entirely successful. Though strongly opposed by the agrarian Conservatives, the treaties with Spain, Roumania and Servia were ratified, December 15,

by a substantial majority. The conflict over the Russian treaty, which came before the Reichstag at the end of February, was rather more severe, but the emperor threw all his influence in support of the measure, and it was carried March 16, the majority of about fifty consisting chiefly of National Liberals, Centrists, Radicals of both factions and Social-Democrats. A treaty with Uruguay was likewise ratified in April. It was generally regarded as a bid for Centrist support in these treaties that the government, without taking position on either side, allowed the second reading, December 1, of a bill permitting the entrance of the Jesuits into Germany. The vote was 176 to 136, party lines being generally disregarded, except by the Centrists. The bill passed its third reading in April, but has not yet been adopted in the Bundesrath. — In respect to **the government's financial measures**, Minister Miquel was not as successful as was Caprivi with the commercial treaties. The measures proposed included an increase of the stamp taxes on bourse transactions and new taxes on tobacco and wine. Of these the wine and tobacco taxes were voted down in the Reichstag's committee, and only the bourse tax was passed. On these financial bills the government is opposed by the Center and can only succeed through support by the Conservatives, who were alienated by the commercial treaties. The bourse tax drew the support of the anti-Semitic Conservatives, as chiefly affecting the Jewish financial operators. The government showed a desire to devise means to placate the agrarian Conservatives before introducing the measures again. It was regarded as a step in this direction that a Currency Commission consisting of experts was brought together by the government, February 22, to consider plans for raising and maintaining the price of silver. A demand for bimetallism has been taken up by some of the Agrarians. — The elections in November for **the Prussian Landtag** resulted in the customary majority for the Conservatives. The session of this body opened January 16. The royal speech announced an increased deficit in the treasury, due to the greater army expenditures. With an obvious reference to agrarian discontent, a measure was foreshadowed looking to the establishment of chambers of agriculture in the rural regions, with power to promote the interests of the landowners and cultivators. The proceedings of the Landtag up to the close of the RECORD were marked by the rejection of a number of government projects by the Conservative majority, in revenge for the disregard of agrarian demands in the Reichstag. — **The reconciliation of Bismarck and the emperor** was signaled by a visit of the ex-chancellor to his sovereign at Berlin, January 26. The overture was made on this occasion, as on that noticed in the last RECORD, by the emperor, and proved more successful than before. Bismarck traveled from Friedrichsruh to Berlin, spent a few hours at the palace, and returned home in the evening. The whole incident was attended by manifestations of the utmost interest and extravagant enthusiasm among all classes of the people. Political significance was attributed to the reconciliation only as it might aid the government in

securing the ratification of the Russian treaty, through Bismarck's well-known sympathy at the same time for Russia and for the Conservatives.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The Windischgrätz coalition ministry met the reassembled Reichsrath, November 23, with a program in which electoral reform, with extension of the franchise, held the first place, and which promised a continuance of the currency reform initiated by the preceding ministry, as well as a progressive policy on social questions. The ministry held its majority well on the question of approving the state of siege in Prague and on the budget and routine business that occupied the winter. Early in March its Electoral Bill was published. This extends the franchise by giving a vote to all who have for two years contributed to a workingmen's insurance fund. But to prevent the swamping of the higher classes by the workingmen thus enfranchised, a new *curia* is provided for, into which the new voters will fall, and which is entitled to choose 43 delegates to the Reichsrath. The existing *curiae* are (1) the great landowners, 85 delegates, (2) the towns, 48 delegates, (3) the chambers of commerce, 21 delegates, and (4) the rural communes, 129 delegates. This ministerial project is favorable to the middle classes, and is supported by the German-Liberals and the Polish group. The Conservatives have formulated a counter-project, designed to give especial advantages to the great landowners.—In Bohemia the government maintained order with a strong hand. The murder of an Anarchistic agitator named Mrva, in December, led to the discovery by the police of an extensive secret society, known as the Omladina, whose political and social projects were related both to the Young Czech movement for national autonomy in Bohemia and to the general revolutionary propaganda of the extreme Socialists and the Anarchists. Mrva was the founder of the Omladina, and was murdered under suspicion of having betrayed its members to the police. Seventy-seven persons, mostly students and other young men, were tried at Prague for complicity in the Omladina's plots, and most were convicted in February and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.—The Civil Marriage Bill for Hungary, having received, after long delay, the king's approval, was introduced in the parliament December 2. It makes the civil ceremony the only legal marriage, and imposes severe penalties on clergymen who perform the religious ceremony before the civil. An accompanying bill, relating to mixed marriages, provides that the children shall follow the religion of the father unless a different arrangement is agreed upon before the ceremony. In spite of some disaffection among the Liberal supporters of the ministry and strong opposition from the Catholic clergy and their followers, Premier Wekerle was sustained by a vigorous public sentiment, and seemed certain of success with the bills up to the middle of March. A diversion was then effected by his enemies in connection with the death of Kossuth, in Turin, March 20. The Nationalists and Radicals immediately sought to force the government to a thorough-going eulogy of the dead patriot. A very moderately-worded tribute to his memory,

however, was carried in parliament and an official funeral was refused. Students and other disorderly persons, meanwhile, indulged for several days in very riotous proceedings in Budapest to enforce what they deemed a proper degree of mourning, and the troops had to be brought into use. It was arranged to bring Kossuth's body to Budapest for a public funeral, but his sons on March 24 sent word that this arrangement would not be carried out unless the rioting ceased. Order was then quickly restored. On the 30th the body reached the Hungarian capital, and was received with an orderly but most impressive popular demonstration, in which no government official took any part. The general effect of this affair was apparently a distinct loss of strength to the government, whose position had obliged it to run counter to a profound public sentiment. It was, therefore, a matter of great surprise even to the ministry when its Civil Marriage Bill passed the lower house, April 18, by a majority of 175. The further steps in this house were correspondingly easy, and the bill went to the House of Magnates at the end of April. Here, however, the ministry's path became more difficult, and the bill was rejected, May 10, by a majority of 21. — By a royal ordinance of November 26, a more definite recognition of Hungary's autonomous position was given through the provision that the immediate court service of the monarch, in whatever concerns Hungarian affairs, should be attended to by Hungarian instead of by Austrian officials. This in effect established a distinct Hungarian court.

ITALY. — The whole period under review has been for Italy a time of social and political crisis. At the beginning of November attention became attracted to continual outbreaks of violence among the working classes in Sicily, due to discontent with employers and with the local governmental authorities. At the same time a great decline in Italian funds on the European bourses indicated a general despair of the nation's finances. The assembling of Parliament, November 23, was followed on the next day by the **fall of the Giolitti ministry**, caused by the report of the Parliamentary commission on the bank scandals (*cf.* this *QUARTERLY*, VIII, 396). This report made the most serious revelations as to the connection of deputies with the *Banca Romana*, and reflected severely on Giolitti and other ministers, as having concealed the frauds after they had become known to the government officials. The formation of a new cabinet, under the very threatening social and financial conditions, proved too difficult for Zanardelli, after two weeks of effort, and on December 8 the king summoned Crispi, who was universally recognized as the strongest politician available. Crispi appealed to the various group leaders in the Chamber for a cessation of party conflict while the country's condition was so critical, and with some understanding in this sense, he announced his cabinet December 15. Parliament, however, was immediately adjourned, to give the government time to deal with the Sicilian situation and frame its financial program. **The commotions in Sicily** had meanwhile been increasing in magnitude, with some evidence of socialistic influences in the organization of the dis-

turburs. An association called *Fasci dei Lavoratori*, numbering several hundred thousand members, appeared connected with the movement. In the middle of December uprisings of peasants against the communal taxes began in different places, and conflicts with the troops were frequent and bloody. By the end of the month the whole island appeared likely to be in insurrection, and the government, early in January, proceeded to extreme measures. Troops were hurried over in great masses from the mainland, the state of siege was proclaimed, the leaders of the *Fasci dei Lavoratori*, including a Socialist deputy, were seized and order was maintained with a strong hand. At the same time the government issued decrees affording a measure of relief to the poorer classes, whose miserable plight in many cases was conceded by all. On the 16th of January the government was obliged to proclaim the state of siege in Tuscany, at Massa di Carrara, where workingmen had developed very strong Anarchistic tendencies. Not till February 20 did Parliament again assemble. Then Crispi faced the Chamber with a defense of the employment of martial law in Sicily and Italy, and with a declaration of financial policy. As to the first point, he laid before the deputies evidence obtained by the police that a fully matured plot had existed for the revolutionizing of Sicily, and that the Anarchists who had formed it had craftily utilized the discontent and distress of the peasants to promote their design. The Chamber sustained the government's course by 342 to 45. The ministry's financial program, as announced on February 21 by Signor Sonnino, was received with less enthusiasm. He frankly put the deficit for the current year at 177,000,000 lire, far above all previous estimates. Forty-five millions he undertook to provide for by economies in administration, and a hundred millions by increase of taxation; this latter to include a revived land tax, a new general income tax, and considerable advances in the rates on personal property, salt, inheritances and alcohol. Several operations in debt conversion also were proposed. Finally, the government's *octroi* taxes on meal, bread, etc., were to be abolished, and the import duties on grain proportionately increased. This latter arrangement was designed to remove as far as possible the principal grievance of the peasants, while at the same time giving additional protection to the agricultural class. These propositions of the government were referred to a committee, who suggested modifications looking to considerable reductions in the army and navy. Here Crispi stood very firm, and announced in April that he would appeal to the electors rather than consent to any such change. His position was regarded as particularly strong from the fact that, after the revelations in connection with the bank scandals, very many deputies are exceedingly unwilling to face their constituents. At the end of the month some small concessions were made by the minister of war, and up to the close of the RECORD the government had met with no reverse.—The trial of the directors of the *Banca Romana* on criminal charges began May 2. One plea of the defense was that the missing funds had been used to assist

the government in sustaining the price of Italian *rentes* in the European bourses.

SPAIN. — Outside of the trouble with the Anarchists and with Morocco, mentioned elsewhere in this RECORD, Spanish affairs have presented little of special interest. A negotiation between the finance minister and representatives of the Basque Provinces resulted, in February, in an agreement, to run for thirteen years, under which the Basque contributions in lieu of taxes were increased about a million pesetas, and the provinces were secured in their ancient rights of self-government. — A reorganization of the Sagasta ministry was effected on March 12, having been necessitated by disagreements on financial subjects in the old cabinet. — A considerable sensation was caused, April 10, by the formal withdrawal of Señor Castelar from the Republican group in the Cortes, to unite himself with the monarchists. This act is recognized as very disastrous to Republican hopes, as Castelar wields a great influence.

MINOR EUROPEAN STATES. — In **Belgium**, the Beernaert ministry, after ten years of power, and after successfully carrying through the revision of the constitution, came to grief finally on a project through which it sought to qualify the democratic tendencies of the new constitution by the principle of proportional representation. The cabinet resigned March 19, and the de Burlet government, which succeeded to power, withdrew the disputed bill, but roused much antagonism at the same time by proposing a customs duty on grain. — The Radical majority in the **Norwegian Storting** greeted the Conservative ministry, at the opening of the session in March, with the now usual vote of no confidence, but the ministry proceeded to carry on the necessary business without much reference to the protests of the house. — On April 1 the Danish budget was regularly voted by the Folkething for the first time in ten years. Owing to an obstinate party conflict throughout that period the finances of the kingdom have been administered under "provisional" laws, unsanctioned by the popular branch of the legislature. Having seen the conclusion of the difficulty, Premier Estrup retired from his position shortly after. — **A critical condition in Serbia** has characterized the whole period under review. King Alexander's relations with the Radicals, in whose behalf he had made his *coup d'état*, became very much strained by the time the Skupshchina assembled in the latter part of November. Premier Dokitch, the king's closest counselor, was succeeded the first of December by General Gruitch, and shortly afterwards died. The Radical majority in the legislature strongly demanded a policy of hostility to Austria, especially in commercial matters, a vindictive prosecution of the former Liberal ministers who were under impeachment, and the distribution of arms to the militia, as an offset to the standing army of the king. As the government took an attitude of opposition to all their demands, the Radical extremists, especially the Karageorgiewitch element, manifested a pronounced tendency toward insurrection. While things were in this condition, ex-King Milan,

who had definitely abandoned the country (see this *QUARTERLY*, VI, 399), suddenly appeared in Belgrade, January 21, to thwart, as he explained, the plots against his son and his dynasty. The Gruitch ministry hastily tendered its resignation upon news of the ex-king's arrival. Milan and Alexander, after trying in vain to gain pledges of good conduct from the Radical leaders, prorogued the legislature and effected the formation of a non-partisan cabinet under M. Simitch. The impeachment proceedings against the former Liberal ministers were discontinued at the end of January. Radical hostility to the new ministry is pronounced, and the prospect of a satisfactory organization of the disordered finances of the kingdom is poor, since the peasants, who form the bulk of the Radical party, have long used their political power to evade the payment of their taxes, and show no tendency to adopt any other policy. A new cabinet crisis, early in April, brought into power M. Nikolaiewitch, whose character and views give promise of a vigorous and unrelenting policy against the Radicals. He is a particular supporter of ex-King Milan. On April 27 King Alexander issued a decree annulling, as unconstitutional, the measures of the former government against Milan and Natalie, and proposed to make the former regent during a projected tour abroad. But on May 5 the Court of Cassation declared the royal decree illegal. — M. Tricoupis came again into power at the assembling of the Parliament, November 8, but only to announce **the bankruptcy of Greece**. The public statement was made, November 26, that the bonds falling due could not be paid, and that the interest could only be met to the extent of thirty per cent. In the budget for 1894, as presented in January, there was prospect of very little improvement over this situation, but the government promised to do the best it could to give fuller satisfaction to its creditors, most of whom are foreign.

AFRICA. — The friction between British and native authorities in **Egypt** has again manifested itself in a number of incidents (*cf.* this *QUARTERLY*, VIII, 399). Most conspicuous was that in the middle of January, when the Khedive, after reviewing the frontier army, made criticisms upon it that prompted the English commander to tender his resignation. The British minister, Lord Cromer, thereupon very quickly forced the Khedive to proclaim publicly his entire confidence in the army, especially in the English officers, and to remove from office the native official who had inspired the criticisms. Owing to differences with the Khedive, arising apparently out of the strong anti-British tendencies of the latter, Riaz Pasha and his cabinet resigned April 14, and were succeeded by a ministry headed by Nubar Pasha. A continuance of the excellent financial conditions that have characterized the years of British administration, is indicated by a surplus for the last year of £739,000. The savings of four years now amount to £3,239,000, which lie idle in the treasury, owing to the failure of the great powers to agree upon a method of utilizing the money. Taxation has been reduced by over a million pounds yearly. — The British South Africa

Company's **conquest of the Matabele** was fully completed by Christmas. On only two occasions did Lobengula's warriors venture a pitched battle with the invading forces, and both times the machine guns of the British put the natives to flight with enormous slaughter. The only serious casualty on the British side was the loss of a company of thirty men, who, in hot pursuit of King Lobengula, became separated from the main army, and were surrounded and all slain by the natives. Lobengula was not captured, but is reported to have died of disease. His subjects generally made their submissions during the winter, and their land was put under the administration of the British company's officials. — On the recommendation of Sir Gerald Portal, who went as commissioner to investigate the situation in **Uganda**, the British government declared a protectorate over that region in April. Hostilities broke out in March with the neighboring kingdom of Unyoro, which will probably be brought within the sphere of the protectorate. — **Spain's difficulty with the Riff tribes** at Mellila in Morocco has been adjusted without far-reaching war. Very active hostilities continued around the town until near the end of November, and Spanish forces were moved over until some 25,000 were on the ground. Then, however, Muley Araaf, the brother of the Sultan of Morocco, succeeded in restraining the warlike proceedings of the natives, and in December he effected a truce through an arrangement with General Martinez-Campos, who had taken command of the Spanish forces. By the end of December the Riff chiefs had given in their formal submissions, and after negotiations with the Sultan of Morocco, Spain secured in March a treaty giving her an indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas, on the security of the revenues of four Moorish custom ports. Morocco also engaged to punish the ringleaders in the Mellila uprising. — **France's interests** in Africa have been promoted, first, by the final capture, January 25, of the deposed Dahomeyan king, Behanzin, who surrendered unconditionally and was exiled to the island of Martinique; and second, by the occupation of Timbuctoo, the famous town of the Western Soudan, by a French force that had been operating against the wild tribes of the neighborhood. Though this occupancy was without instructions from the home government, and though a part of the occupying force, with the commander, was destroyed shortly after by the Tuaregs of the vicinity, the French have retained possession of the town, with the sanction of the Paris cabinet. — Through agreements reached by Germany with England and France in November and March respectively, the more exact delimitation of spheres of influence in the *Hinterland* of the Cameroons settlements was finally reached. The chief questions involved touched the trading advantages in the neighborhood of Lake Tchad. — The war against **the Congo State** which, in spite of repeated defeats, the Arabs of the upper Congo and Tanganyika regions have persisted in maintaining for two years, was brought one step nearer a conclusion by another victory for the Europeans, November 17, in which Sefu, the son of Tippoo Tib and a prominent leader in the war, lost his life. In January a succession of

defeats broke the power of Rumaliza, the most powerful Arab chief remaining in the Tanganyika region.

LATIN AMERICA. — **The civil war in Brazil** resulted in the complete triumph of the Peixoto government in the spring. During November the insurgents held their own in the harbor of Rio Janeiro, and in the following month occupied a number of islands in the bay. On December 1 Admiral Mello, their leader, with two of his ships, ran past the government batteries and out to sea, leaving in command in the harbor Admiral da Gama, who up to that time had remained neutral. The latter shortly after issued a manifesto pointing to a restoration of the monarchy as the ultimate purpose of the rebels. This seems to have tended rather to weaken the insurgent cause, and a month later da Gama tried in another proclamation to explain away the interpretation that had been put upon the first. The government, meanwhile, confined itself to strengthening its positions in the city and along the shore so as to make any attempt to land unsuccessful. Desultory hostilities continued throughout December and January, incidentally to which the American commander on one occasion enforced respect for merchant vessels bearing his flag by firing on an insurgent vessel. On February 12 da Gama made his most elaborate attempt to gain a foothold on the main land at Armacao, but was repulsed with severe losses. By this time the insurgent cause was clearly on the decline. On the first of March a presidential election was held, which resulted in the choice of Prudente Moraes, a civilian. This removed the leading grievance of the rebels, that Peixoto was perpetuating a régime of pure militarism. On the 11th of March the fleet which the government had been fitting out in the United States and Europe appeared at the entrance to the harbor of Rio, and Peixoto gave notice of an active movement against the rebels. Da Gama promptly offered to surrender on certain conditions, which being refused, he and his officers sought asylum on first a French and later a Portuguese war vessel. Thus deserted, the crews of the insurgent vessels surrendered without resistance when the government batteries opened fire on the 13th. Admiral Mello, meanwhile, had been operating with some success in connection with the insurgents on land in the southern states of Brazil. In the first part of April, however, the government forces totally defeated the rebels in Rio Grande do Sul, and Mello, about the middle of the month, surrendered himself and his command to the Uruguayan authorities, by whom they were disarmed. About the same time da Gama reached Buenos Ayres in the Portuguese war ship. — The chief event in Central America has been a war between Honduras and Nicaragua, due to the support given by the latter to revolutionists exiled from the former. Hostilities broke out in December, and ended in February in the triumph of the Nicaraguans, who established in power in Honduras the long unsuccessful revolutionist, Bonilla.

WM. A. DUNNING.